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ABSTRACT

This research report on teacher militancy, published by the Canadian Teachers' Federation, seeks to ascertain the extent to which various groups of teachers are prepared to adopt militant bargaining strategies, and to identify factors which may contribute to the development of militant attitudes. The report first broadly defines militancy among teachers as "aggressive behavior and conflict-oriented strategies in (teachers') collective contacts with the centers of power and authority in education." It then goes on to discuss the problem of analyzing and describing teacher militancy in relation to several traditionally important characteristics of a professional organization, including autonomy, public commitment, personal responsibility, and suitable recognition of members' achievements. The report also discusses and considers professionalism among teachers. The major part of the report explains and discusses the structure and method of the study. The section wich deals with the results of the study contains a discussion of the original hypotheses and a general analysis of the results. The concluding observations presented and discussed stated that (1) the great majority of teachers prefer nonmilitant methods; (2) the perceived needs of the teachers focus on their professional autonomy and the recognition they receive as persons; and (3) self-fulfillment is the key to the new professionalism that is emerging. Appendixes are attached which contain comments from responding teachers, the questionnaire, and the mechanics of the survey. (BD)

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TEACHER MILITANCY

A Comparative Study of Ontario, Quebec and New York Teachers, 1975

Peter H. Hennessy

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Preface

From time to time the Canadian Teachers' Federation publishes research studies on topics of interest to the teaching profession. One such topic is teacher militancy, which in the past few years has generated considerable rhetoric, but comparatively little research.

The study reported in this volume was prepared by Peter H. Hennessy, of the Faculty of Education of Queen's University. The existence of the study was drawn to the attention of CTF during the summer of 1975, and it was decided that the level of current interest in the topic warranted publication by the Federation.

The study seeks to ascertain the extent to which various groups of teachers are prepared to adopt militant bargaining strategies and to identify factors which may contribute to the development of militant attitudes. The opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the policies of the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

Geraldine Channon,
Executive Assistant,
Canadian Teachers' Federation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Though my interest in the professional side of teaching goes back to the mid-fifties, the procedural format for this study must be credited to J. Fris, a doctoral candidate in 1975 in the Department of Educational Administration of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. A conversation with Mr. Hugh Hubbs of the History Department of Cobourg Collegiate West in May 1974 brought Mr. Fris to my attention, following which I visited the latter and gained his support and encouragement. The complementary nature of my work in relation to that of Fris will be described later.

At an early stage, I decided to seek the names and addresses of the 1700 teachers to be surveyed from the offices of the teacher associations concerned. The following persons, with the approval of their organizations, provided me with address lists or arranged to mail my material to the sample of teachers: Miss Florence Henderson, Executive Secretary, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario; Mr. Leo Normandeau, President, and Mr. Frank Griffin, Executive Director, of the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association; Dr. R.L. Lamb, General Secretary and his assistant Mr. Harold Pinkerton of the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation; Mr. John C.T. Johnson, President, and Mr. Rod Elkin, Executive Officer, of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec; Mr. Don Mesibov and Mr. Bernie Perry, Field Representatives in the Watertown office of New York State United Teachers, a joint affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association. Not only did those persons and their office colleagues provide technical assistance but also valuable advice about the content and conduct of the study.

The project was funded by the Faculty of Education at Queen's through the good offices of the Dean, Mr. Vernon Ready.

The preparation of the program for the computer was under the supervision of Mr. Doug Shewan of the Queen's Computing Centre. An analysis of the data was undertaken by the Queen's Statlab; namely, Dr. Don Watts, Director of Statlab, Dr. Brian Butler of the Psychology Department and Dr. Graham Wilkinson, Senior Statistician of the Statlab at Queen's. The form of the statistics is the result of their careful attention and generous advice throughout the computing stage.

My family assisted me in the preparation and mailing of the 10,000 separate pieces of material which went to the 1700 teachers. The strength of the ties that bind is tested in the course of wetting and placing correctly on envelopes, 3,200 stamps.

Mrs. Margaret Murduck, an Administrative Assistant, and Mr. Otto Blain, the Mailman, both in the General Office of the Faculty of Education, made possible the efficient storage and transfer of responses from the teachers. Mrs. Wilma Swain has done the typing.

I acknowledge with pleasure the important contribution of all these persons to the successful completion of this study.

P.H. Hennessy

May 1975

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

A sabbatical leave in 1974-75 for the purpose, among other things, of preparing a new course for Bachelor of Education candidates in the Queen's University Faculty of Education on the general theme of teacher professionalization and professionalism happened to coincide with an upsurge of militant activity in the ranks of Ontario teachers.

In the fall and winter of 1973-74, the teachers used overt political pressure on a large scale to persuade the Ontario government to provide more money for school boards. First there were mass resignations on November 30, 1973, by all the teachers employed by eleven separate school boards (Catholic) and some of the teachers (mainly secondary) employed by five boards of education (public). These resignations were in support of salary demands and were to become effective on December 31, 1973. At worst, some 7,800 teachers would not have returned to their classrooms on January 3, 1974. When the government decided in early December that this was an intolerable prospect and introduced legislation to nullify the resignations, the teachers of all five affiliates of the Ontario Teachers' Federation closed ranks and deserted their schools for one day (December 18, 1973). There was a mass rally in Toronto at which 30,000 teachers were courted and encouraged by leaders of labour unions and the opposition parties.

Premier William Davis and Education Minister Tom Wells got from the leadership of the teachers and from the boards concerned an undertaking that

they would defer the effective date of the resignations until January 31, 1974, and submit any unresolved issues still under negotiation at that time to binding arbitration. Critical to the success of this tactic was the government's concession that arbitrators could, if necessary, exceed the government imposed limits or ceilings on spending by the boards. With this very considerable gain for the teachers, the government bill to nullify the resignations was withdrawn and temporary peace was purchased.

By January 31, 1974, all the previously deadlocked boards and teachers had reached agreement except the high school teachers of York County, a suburban Toronto school division. These teachers would not agree to binding arbitration and submitted their resignations on a school by school basis in percentages varying from 5 per cent to 95 per cent. From February 1 to March 24, 1974, there was a twilight zone strike in York, with the schools open but more or less unstaffed. In all, about two-thirds of the high school teachers were on strike and receiving strike pay from the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. After five weeks of makeshift education provided both by the striking and non-striking teachers, the government responded to public pressure by legislating the York County teachers back to work on the basis of compulsory arbitration of their differences with the board. In this action, the government further alienated teachers in general by ignoring the fact that the striking teachers in York had legally resigned and by imposing compulsory arbitration upon them.

The York County debacle illustrated that collective bargaining legislation for teachers was desperately needed in Ontario, that the government was suffering politically as a result of continued delays in bringing down

such legislation, that school students and teachers may not be as severely hurt by a teacher strike as trustees and administrative officials, and that teachers, in present circumstances, are in a strong position to win their demands by leaving their classrooms, with or without the formality of personal resignations. Altogether, the signs for the school year 1974-75 were ominous.

While my sabbatical study of the professional activities and aspirations of teachers was progressing on schedule, teacher-board warfare broke into the headlines in Windsor. The high school teachers and the board had been negotiating since January 1974 against a backdrop of bitterness from previous years. The old collective agreement had expired in June 1974 and the two sides were some distance apart on salary and working conditions when, in early November, the board made another offer including binding arbitration if necessary. The teachers turned down the offer and struck the schools on November 19. This time, the instructional program virtually came to a halt as picket lines were set up and the high schools were effectively closed. For the first time in the history of the province, teachers in a school system by collective decision deemed themselves to be on strike despite personal contracts with the board which obliged them to be in their classrooms. November 30 provided the last opportunity for them to resign and lend an aura of legitimacy to their strike, even though such resignations would not become effective until December 31. When they did not resign, the Windsor board asked for a court injunction ordering the teachers back to work. Judge Osler of the Ontario Supreme Court conducted a hearing and ruled that the picketing was peaceful, that there was no statute violation on which he could order the teachers back to work and

that no person can be forced to do personal service against his will. He made it clear that the teachers were in violation of their contracts and that the Windsor board could take appropriate civil action against them including firing them.

The lack of collective bargaining legislation for teachers had opened a breach in the ramparts of public order in Ontario through which teachers were moving without hindrance. The high school teachers of Thunder Bay reached a deadlock with their board as events were unfolding in Windsor. They introduced into the fluid scene the rotating strike. On November 26 the teachers began staying away from a specified Thunder Bay high school for one day at a time. Without any predictable pattern, each high school was closed on several separate days until the beginning of the Christmas break. At the same time, these teachers resigned on November 30, to be effective December 31.

The Catholic separate school teachers who were deadlocked in negotiations chose a single route: mass resignations on November 30. Catholic teachers in seven jurisdictions across the province (Sudbury, Ottawa, Durham, Wellington, London-Middlesex, Elgin and Carleton), involving a quarter of the members of the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association, still had not reached settlements by the end of December and might not, therefore, return to their classrooms in January. Partly as a result of the Education Minister's personal intervention, all of these disputes were settled within a day or two of the resumption of school except those in Elgin and Carleton. The Elgin teachers settled on January 15, leaving only one so-called strike situation in the separate school system of the province.

The Minister was also actively involved in the Windsor dispute. He appointed a mediator (Professor G. Simmons of the Faculty of Law at Queen's) who vigorously mediated the dispute through the Christmas recess. As a result of his efforts and the election to the board in early December of several persons sympathetic to the teachers, a settlement was reached in time to re-open the schools on schedule in January. The Windsor settlement set new records not only in respect to increases in salaries and related benefits but also because it admitted the secondary school teachers very substantially into areas of school policy and management hitherto considered the exclusive preserve of the board, its officials, and the school principals. Any study of change in teacher-board relationships in Ontario in the seventies should include the Windsor agreement of January 9, 1975.

Embattled groups such as the Carleton separate school teachers and the Thunder Bay high school teachers were encouraged by the Windsor agreement to go down to the wire in support of their demands. Both these striking groups of teachers had submitted their resignations en masse and, technically, were not employees of their boards. But nobody regarded them in that light. They were seen by all concerned, including the Minister of Education, as employees using the ultimate sanction, withdrawal of services, in their quest for a better deal. Community tension, parental pressure and intensified mediation efforts achieved settlements in due course; first, in Carleton on January 27 and then in Thunder Bay on February 4.

By this time, my survey of elementary school teachers in Eastern Ontario, an essential part of my sabbatical study, was nearing completion. The only teachers included in the sample who were actually on strike when

the questionnaire was mailed to them were the Carleton separate school teachers.

As spring 1975 approached, the Ottawa high school teachers struck their schools on February 27 and remained on strike until April 18. These teachers did not resign and remained apparently united in the face of massive public reaction against them. The pay-off, after persistent effort by a provincial mediator, was a salary improvement for Ottawa secondary teachers greater in percentage terms than those won in Windsor and Thunder Bay. Because of its timing, the Ottawa strike put the university applications of grade 13 students in some jeopardy. It is difficult to say how serious was this jeopardy because the question became enveloped in the war of words between the Ottawa board and the teachers.

This review of the highlights of teacher-board relationships in 1974 and the first part of 1975 is not intended to provide detailed information about these events. Rather it presents the scenario for this study of teacher professionalism. At this time, some very strong statements are being made by spokesmen of the various interests. For example:

"There is no place in the Federation (OSSTF) for a principal who feels he is a manager or an administrator." James Forster, President, Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, as quoted by the Globe and Mail at a meeting in Montreal on February 20, 1975, of Ontario high school principals. At that meeting the principals voted 141 to 82 to support any sanctions, including strikes, authorized by the teachers' federation.

"One can only surmise what would happen if the Davis government introduced legislation prohibiting the right to strike and imposing compulsory arbitration. It would be likely that local teacher groups would

enter the political arena in a partisan fashion and attempt to retire the present government as was done in British Columbia." Neil Doherty, a full-time field officer of the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association, as quoted by the Toronto Star on March 29, 1975, in connection with a story of an Ontario Teachers' Federation decision to earmark $100,000 for political action. In a related item, the Star stated that the OSSTF have a potential political war chest of $20 million in the form of promissory notes signed by its 54,000 members. The other affiliates of OTF break down this way, according to the Star:

Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario: no political action budget now.

Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation: $30,000 for political education.

Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association: political action budget being prepared.

L'Association des enseignants franco-ontariens: no information given.

"In the United States, parents have started suing school boards which have graduated their children as illiterates or have in other ways failed to provide the education for which they have collected taxes. It is getting to be time when that same course should be explored in Ontario." Globe and Mail editorial comment of April 8, 1975, on the Ottawa teachers' strike.

"We cannot tolerate requests of this kind if they are translated province-wide." Premier William Davis as quoted in a Canadian Press dispatch of March 4, 1975. The Premier was in Ottawa answering a question about a 40 per cent pay raise being sought by Ottawa high school teachers.

As it turned out, those teachers, with the help of a government mediator, gained an average 34 per cent raise.

"One question I think is important has not been raised. Why are the teachers so militant?" Robert Field, Director of Education, Windsor, as quoted by the Globe and Mail at a special salary conference of the Ontario School Trustees' Council in Toronto on February 15, 1975. Some 450 trustees and board officials attended the conference, which was marked by threats to stop all negotiations with teachers until the government passes collective bargaining legislation. The vulnerable, even desperate, situation of boards of education caught between militant, well organized teachers and vacillating government was an underlying theme of this meeting.

Mr. Field's question, quoted above, is in fact the sub-title of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROBLEM

There is no doubt that, in their professional behaviour, the teachers of Ontario are in a process of change that is both broad and deep. At this time, it is impossible to say with any confidence whether the change will benefit children as learners or will please the parents and taxpayers or will improve the teachers' own morale and professional competence. Naturally one hopes that it will have all those effects.

The term militancy is a starting point for delineating the change that is the subject of this study. Broadly speaking, militancy among teachers refers to aggressive behaviour and conflict oriented strategies in their collective contacts with the centres of power and authority in education. In practice, such behaviours and strategies are most frequently exhibited in teacher-board negotiations.

Teacher militancy has mushroomed in this province in the seventies as a direct apparent consequence of two actions by the government of Ontario. The first was the consolidation in 1968-69 of the nearly 1400 boards of school trustees (public school boards, separate school boards, district high school boards, collegiate institute boards, township area boards, boards of education, etc.) into 77 boards of education and 49 separate school boards. A small number of cities received boards of education and separate school boards of their own (Windsor, London,

Hamilton and Ottawa); also, special arrangements were made for a metro Toronto board to coordinate the borough boards, and for the northern part of the province beyond the counties. Geography dictated that certain isolated communities in the north, such as Geraldton and Kapuskasing, should have a board of education to themselves. Other northern communities, such as Thunder Bay, experienced a consolidation of boards not unlike that of a populous county in the south-east. Where there had been a high trustee to teacher ratio with relatively simple and frequent communications, there was suddenly a gap between the public authority and the classroom practitioners. "The 'distance' between teachers and senior administrators and trustees has increased to the point where continuous discussion is a prerequisite to teachers understanding a school board's organization and its functions, and their roles within it."[1] Allowing for the ameliorative effect of various liaison committees and those trustees, administrators and teachers who work hard at communication, the structure itself continues to hinder friendly, open teacher-board relations. According to scholars such as C. Argyris, J.A. Belasco, A. McBeath and I.E. Housego, the existing structure would actually foster suspicion and hostility.

The second government action that contributed to a militant response was the imposition of spending ceilings on the boards. This device was introduced at the beginning of the decade to ensure that "rich" boards of education did not use their tax power to worsen inequalities of educational opportunity in different parts of the province. They were also meant to

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[1]Ontario Teachers' Federation, A Submission to the Minister's Committee on Negotiation Procedures. (Toronto: the Federation, 1971). p. 17.

control spending for education at a time when other services were clamouring for more support and Canadian society as a whole was trying to control inflation. In simplest terms, the ceilings set a maximum amount per school child that could be spent by the boards.

This policy collided directly with the intent of the teachers to accelerate their salary gains; gains which had been steady through the sixties (from 5 per cent to 10 per cent per annum) but somewhat less in the late sixties than the gains made in wages and salaries by some other segments of the community. (Average weekly wages and salaries in Ontario increased by 6.5 per cent per annum from 1965 to 1969, while the salaries of secondary school teachers increased by 6.2 per cent per annum.[2]) The spending ceilings forced many boards to reduce their teaching staffs in 1971 and thereafter. This had a "double crunch" effect when teachers contemplated a declining birth rate and static or falling enrolments in the elementary schools. Personal security became an extremely urgent concern in their minds. One obvious route to greater security was to force the government to increase the flow of funds to education. By 1973, the teachers in certain systems (e.g. Ottawa high schools) were employing work-to-rule tactics to persuade the government to loosen the purse strings. That is to say, they confined their work to classroom teaching according to the school timetable and refused to participate in all the other activities which, the pupils say, make going to school pleasurable. Reference is made in a previous chapter to the teachers' spectacular show of strength in

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[2]Ontario Statistical Review 1969 and Education Division, Statistics Canada.

December 1973, which caused the government to release salary arbitrators from the limitations of the ceilings in January 1974. According to my information, the disputes that might have gone to arbitration at that time did not result in any piercing of the ceilings. However, the government's acceptance of this possibility is the important point being made. During the school year 1974-75 the ceilings were under such stress as a result of salary settlements like those in Windsor, Thunder Bay and Ottawa, that the Minister of Education found it necessary in March 1975 to make an extraordinary increase in the grant ceiling of $50.00 per pupil for the entire system. It appears certain at this time that at least two boards (Windsor and Ottawa) will exceed the ceilings and will, therefore, have to impose an extra burden on the local taxpayers in the amount of the excess, plus the legal penalty for exceeding the limit.

Thus far, this chapter portrays the government of Ontario as the author of its own fate, with respect to the rise of militancy among the teachers. More accurately, the phenomenon has socio-economic origins that transcend any particular decision of any leader in education in Ontario. Joan Anderson of the staff of the Metro Toronto School Board relates current teacher militancy to an historical ideological struggle, namely, socialism versus capitalism. She points to the social mission orientation of the largest teachers' union in Quebec, la Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec (CEQ), as an extreme instance of ideology at work in teacher professionalization. The 1972 convention of the CEQ adopted a white paper called "Our Schools Serve the Ruling Class" from which this brief quotation should be sufficient to make the point:

> And we believe the following conditions are essential to waging an effective struggle against the common enemy: -- the collaboration of teachers with all workers to define with greater clarity plans for an egalitarian and classless society, to which more and more workers aspire, and the means to achieve it.[3]

In 1975, the CEQ released a manual to its members, presumably to help them in teaching social values. This statement was taken from the manual by the Kingston Whig Standard for purposes of an editorial rebuke on May 3, 1975: "We believe it is possible to conduct, in the school, activities aimed at making school less discriminatory towards the sons of workers and to help bring about changes that would restructure society to eliminate dependence on exploitation of the working class.....".

Ms. Anderson also sees teacher unionism in the U.S.A. as a significant factor in the drift to militancy here. The larger American cities now have strong teacher unions which negotiate salaries, fringe benefits, compensation for extracurricular work, teaching periods per day, class size, out-of-classroom supervision, transfers and promotion, tenure, redundancy policy, and grievance procedures. Collective agreements run to 100 pages in length and often require a watchdog teacher in the school to ensure that the terms are honoured by all concerned. The affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers (itself an affiliate of the AFL-CIO) have tended to be more agressively "union" than the affiliates of the National Education Association, though that gap is closing.

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[3]Quoted in Joan Anderson, "Teacher Militancy", Ontario Education, January/February, 1975.

American teacher unions, in keeping with the history of unionism in that country, are not politically committed in a partisan way. Their mission is to get the best deal possible for their members which means, in the longer term, maximizing the influence of teachers in education policy making. Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers of New York City, an affiliate of AFT, put it coldly and candidly when he said "Teacher involvement in the future will demonstrate the right of teachers to be as self-interested as any other group in our society."[4] This statement, however representative it may be, discards the tradition of gentle and altruistic public service long associated with teaching and teachers. James Cass, Education Editor of Saturday Review/World summed up his view of the situation in the U.S.A. in the February 9, 1974 issue of the magazine:

> During the 1960's American teachers learned from the example of the small but potent AFT -- as well as from other employee groups, such as the police, firemen, and sanitation workers -- that a strong, aggressive organization can generate economic and political power. During the same period the civil-rights movement sparked dramatic changes in the etiquette of social protest that eroded traditional middle-class attitudes about proper behavior for teachers. At the same time the psychic rewards of teaching that had often made for job satisfaction despite low pay and poor working conditions were fast disappearing. Schools were becoming larger, more highly structured, and more impersonal as management of education in-

[4]A. Shanker, "The Future of Negotiations for Teachers" in The Collective Dilemma (Carleton & Goodwin 1969), p. 77.

> creasingly was divorced from teaching. Often, too teachers did not identify with the community in which they taught -- and often enough did not even live there. The result was a progressive sense of alienation from both the school and the community; it was to the group -- either union or association -- that teachers turned increasingly for security and support.

With the exception of the reference to the civil-rights movement, it is possible to apply the whole of Cass's observation to the developing education scene in Ontario.

What, then, is the problem? Obviously, there are lots of problems for persons in positions of responsibility in education. This study addresses itself to the problem of analyzing and describing teacher militancy in relation to several traditionally important features or characteristics of a professional organization. The dimensions of a profession that have been arbitrarily selected for the purpose of this study are as follows:

- autonomy, both group and individual;
- a commitment to serve the public;
- personal responsibility for carrying out the purposes and programs of the group;
- measures to ensure the competence of the members; and
- suitable recognition of the achievements of the members.

To the extent that teacher militancy can be related to each of these hallmarks of a professional group, interested persons should be able to understand better some of the underlying forces at work and be influenced accordingly. As everyone knows who reads a newspaper, public comments

about education and educators are increasingly hostile and negative. There is a need for more understanding, more reconciliation, and more constructive recommendation.

CHAPTER THREE

CONSIDERATIONS OF PROFESSIONALISM

This study does not have as an ethical premise that teachers ought to be more professional. That would merely contribute to an endless, circular and futile debate relating to bias, personal values, group interests, etc. Neither is the study much concerned with whether or not teaching is a profession, whether or not a particular teacher association is a union, nor whether or not unionism is compatible with professionalism. It takes for granted that the designation "profession" has been given by society to teaching as to all kinds of other work groups, more or less organized, more or less skilled, more or less intellectually active, more or less autonomous, more or less homogenous, more or less self disciplined. The word has lost its earlier élitist meaning.

Underpinning the study is an idealistic belief that teachers must possess good morale in order to help children mature. That is neither the most nor the least important quality of an effective teacher but it is indispensable to the quasi-parental responsibility of preparing the young to join the onward flow of humanity. Having made this statement of faith, I should acknowledge some of the scholarship and research that have directly influenced this study.

The work of J. Fris at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education is the dominant influence. In 1972, Fris conducted a survey of 1000 Ontario high school teachers to find out how well, by certain criteria, teaching

meets professional standards. These criteria were expressed as dimensions of professionalism and were quite closely related in content to those stated above.[1] He acquired from the teachers data bearing, first, on their professional ideals, second, their professional achievements and, third, the bureaucratic features of their schools. The previous work (1969) of J.J. Palmatier at Berkeley in the same area was acknowledged. Fris reached a number of tentative conclusions, among which were these:

> The study did not identify variables which could be considered to have a marked effect on the development of professional attitudes and behaviour patterns among teachers. In other words, neither the variable, bureaucratization, nor personal variables such as teaching experience, formal education, sex, marital status, etc. offered strong clues to the extent of professionalism and professionalization of the teachers.

His operating conclusion seemed to be that further study was needed. Therefore, in 1974 Fris surveyed a different sample of Ontario high school teachers with much the same instrument. An important difference was the substitution of a militancy scale for the bureaucratization scale. He sought answers to three questions in the second study:

1. To what extent have teachers professionalized?
2. To what extent has teachers' professional role deprivation increased?
3. Is teacher militancy related to teacher professionalization and role deprivation?

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[1] J. Fris. Professional Role Aspirations and Achievements Among Ontario Secondary School Teachers. (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1972), p. 14.

At the present time, he is preparing the results and conclusions of this second study.

Militancy as a feature of the professionalization of teachers over the past ten years in North America has been quite widely studied. Palmatier (1969) seems to have developed the concept of role deprivation among teachers, i.e. the difference between their aspirations and their achievements as a guideline to militant behaviour. This concept, in turn, can be traced to studies of teacher needs and militancy such as that by Giandomenico in 1971 who discovered a positive correlation (.39) between perceived need deficiency and militancy. He also found that higher order needs for self-actualization and autonomy were more highly related to militancy than lower order needs (e.g. security, status). An emphasis on perceived needs of persons rather than objective professional standards leads one to such persons as Chris Argyris and Lyman W. Porter, whose psychological studies were centred in industrial organizations. From there, it is a short route to the towering achievements of A.H. Maslow. In the fifties, Maslow pioneered the theory of a hierarchy of needs ranging from physiological needs of the lowest order to self-realization needs of the highest order as the key to understanding human motivation. In 1960, Lyman Porter applied his understanding of Maslow to an examination of management jobs in industry and made discoveries that illuminate this study.

Porter surveyed persons in lower and middle management positions. Lower management refers to supervisors and job foremen in a plant or on a construction site. Most classroom teachers are comparable with lower management persons in the extent to which they supervise, in their limited

freedom to initiate policy, and in their status in the hierarchy. Classroom teachers are often called upon to be more creative, resilient and resourceful than lower management personnel in a plant because they are working with children. Middle management refers to persons above the first level of supervision but below the level of vice-president, company officer or major division head. School principals, most high school department heads and coordinators of multi-school programs are comparable persons in education.

The study elicited from the subjects their perceptions (on a 1-7 scale) of 1. how much there is, 2. how much there should be, 3. how important it is to the respondent with respect to each of:

I Job Security

II Social Interaction and Service

III Self Esteem and Prestige

IV Autonomy, both Personal and Group

V Self Actualization (developing fully one's personal potential)

These five categories, in the order given above, constituted an adaptation of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. To the five, Porter added two categories which seemed to overlap several needs, namely Pay and Inside Knowledge. The statistics that he produced were measures of deficiency in need fulfillment and measures of importance of the needs as perceived by the subjects.

Need deficiencies were greater in lower than in middle management, and these differences were concentrated in the job security, self esteem and autonomy categories. For both lower and middle management, the trend

of increasing need deficiency was towards the higher-order needs (autonomy and self-actualization). It is worth quoting Porter's conclusions:

> 1. The vertical location of management positions appears to be an important variable in determining the extent to which psychological needs are fulfilled.
>
> 2. The greatest differences in the frequency of need-fulfillment deficiencies between bottom and middle management positions occur in the esteem, security and autonomy need areas. These needs are significantly more often satisfied in middle than in bottom management.
>
> 3. Higher-order psychological needs are relatively the least satisfied needs in both bottom and middle management.
>
> 4. Self-actualization and security are seen as more important areas of need satisfaction than the areas of social interaction, esteem, and autonomy, by individuals in both bottom and middle management positions.
>
> 5. The highest-order need of self-actualization is the most critical need area of those studied, in terms of both perceived deficiency in fulfillment and perceived importance to the individual, in both bottom and middle management. This need is not perceived as significantly more satisfied at the middle management level.[2]

These findings will throw light on the results of this study. Particularly, the Porter conclusions encourage and justify an examination of teacher

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[2]L.W. Porter, "A Study of Perceived Need Satisfactions in Bottom and Middle Management Jobs", Journal of Applied Psychology Vol. 45, February/May 1961, pp. 9-10.

militancy in the context of what teachers perceive as their needs rather than in terms of an "absolute" standard of professionalism. The latter approach seems to be increasingly irrelevant and barren as teachers (especially younger ones) show less interest in measuring up to someone else's standards of behaviour and a stronger determination to be themselves. In this respect, teachers are part of the larger thrust of the new generation towards personal freedom and fulfillment.

Yet it would be foolish to conduct a formal study relating to the professional aims and achievements of teachers on the shifting sands of personal values. One must use established norms or standards in order to communicate clearly about professionalism. Myron Lieberman's Education as a Profession (1956) stands as a major contribution to the enunciation of general standards of professionalism for teachers. Lieberman saw autonomy of action as a professional trait which would require persistent cultivation both by organized and individual teachers. Not only should individual teachers make the main decisions affecting their teaching programs but their professional associations should make the critical decisions about admission to the ranks, certification, and ethical behaviour. He also put heavy stress on the public service obligation of the teaching profession as a means of achieving high quality performance consistent with the record of other professionals in the course of human history. The idea of a free and independent expert serving the general good of society is also the idea of the mature and "self-actualized" person operating at his/her optimum level. In other words, the professional teacher, by Lieberman's definition, is the one who has satisfied in large measure the highest needs of the human being by Maslow's definition.

Unfortunately, according to many recent studies cited by Fris, teachers have encountered obstacles in their professional paths which have caused frustration. Fris put it this way, "Insofar as teachers have apparently not been able to persuade administrators to accord them even a meaningful, let alone equal voice in educational decision-making, it is not surprising that they are turning to tactics that involve the threatened or actual use of power to inflict cost or pain -- i.e., militancy."[3] This observation is borne out by provisions in recent Ontario collective agreements, won through militant tactics, which place teachers in the policy-making cockpit. The Windsor secondary agreement, for example, established a Teacher-Board Complement Committee consisting of four members appointed by OSSTF and four persons (including one trustee) appointed by the board. Among other things, this Committee will recommend the allocation of teachers to the high schools each year following which the board will fix the pupil-teacher ratio within the range 16.5 to 1 to 16.8 to 1. Within each high school there will be a Staff Assignment Committee of nine elected teachers. This Committee will review all staff assignment information in the hands of the principal "... with a view to making a mutually satisfactory joint determination for staffing assignments within the school" (Section 9.01.i of Windsor agreement, January 9, 1975). The agreement contains many other details defining and regulating teacher workload, transfer and redundancy procedures. The Thunder Bay secondary agreement of February 1975 contains a complicated formula for

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[3] J. Fris, Teacher Militancy As an Expression of Professional Role Deprivation, Research Proposal, OISE, Toronto 1974, p. 44.

determining the staffing of each high school based on the total number of credits in the students' programs (Article VI). It leaves the administration of the formula to each school principal and the superintendent of supervision; it does not call into existence teacher watchdog committees. Such arrangements between Ontario teachers and their employers may be expected to evolve towards the elaborately detailed specifications of working conditions that one finds in teacher union agreements with boards (e.g., the collective agreement between the teachers and the school boards decreed by the Government of Quebec in December 1972, or the agreement between New York City Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers of September 1972).

Whether this current feature of the professionalization of teachers, i.e., collectively negotiated agreements to specify and fix working conditions, will contribute, on balance, to the autonomy and self-actualization of the teacher remains to be seen. There are reasons for speculating both for and against such an outcome. The results of this study should throw some new light on this issue.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STRUCTURE AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

Structure

After considering the Fris studies of 1972 and 1974 in Toronto, I decided that more work needed to be done in this field. In particular, the Toronto studies were limited to the segment of Ontario teachers with the record of greatest success in negotiating better pay and benefits since the Second World War, namely the high school teachers. That record is well documented in the minute books of school boards which show a pattern of salary and other improvement gained first by the members of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation and then, relatively and subsequently, by the members of the other affiliates of the Ontario Teachers' Federation. There was a concerted effort by some boards in the mid-fifties to negotiate a single scale of salaries for all teachers, an effort that was thwarted by OSSTF for reasons of their own advantage. The high school teachers capitalized on their relative scarcity and their academic superiority during the fifties and sixties and became the pace-setters in negotiation, not only for the other teachers, but for the non-teaching staff and the administrative officials of the boards as well. One assumes that OSSTF members in general have viewed the consequent gains of other groups with more magnanimity than those of the London, Ontario district who, in May 1975, billed two elementary teacher associations

$1750 each for services rendered in negotiations. According to a Canadian Press news dispatch of May 8, the board granted its elementary teachers parity with the high school teachers even though the former voted earlier to accept a lesser amount. The OSSTF want the two elementary associations concerned to pay two thirds of the cost of the negotiation!

Because of the apparent differences between the high school teachers and the others in Ontario and because of a history of fragmentation within the Ontario Teachers' Federation that seems likely to continue, I believed that a comparable study should be made of the members of three elementary associations in Ontario, namely, the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO), the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation (OPSMTF), and the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA). For the purposes of the study, members of FWTAO and OPSMTF are treated as one group. I chose not to include L'Association des enseignants franco-ontariens (AEFO) because of the extra cost entailed in using two languages in the study. Some questions that might be answered were these:

What differences are there between Ontario elementary and secondary teachers in their professional priorities?

How are the components of professionalism ranked by the two levels both in terms of their aspirations or perceived needs and their sense of role deprivation?

Are there any significant differences in these respects from one elementary association to another? (In strict accuracy, OECTA is not exclusively an elementary teachers' association.)

The chapter above, entitled "Background", touches upon a recent upsurge of militancy within the OECTA. Without examining the question, one can guess why the Catholic teachers of Ontario have taken to the barricades in advance of their colleagues in FWTAO and OPSMTF. First, they have experienced their own "quiet revolution" in Catholic education in the past two decades. The separate schools have become secularized as their administrators and teachers have become predominantly lay persons who expect the same rewards and status as all other teachers. The Catholic teachers have had to do a lot of catching-up, not only in salary and working conditions, but also in gaining a voice for themselves in curriculum development. As well, OECTA members have not been as able to ride the coat-tails of OSSTF because their negotiations have been with separate school boards. The spill-over effect of a successful OSSTF negotiation has not been as evident for OECTA as for FWTAO and OPSMTF.

Are the elementary teachers less militant than the secondary teachers by the measures used in this and the Fris study?

Can any such difference be reliably related to their comparative role deprivation?

If there were possible differences between the secondary and elementary teachers in Ontario in their professionalization, were there other differences within those parameters between legally unionized teachers and Ontario teachers? The province of Quebec and the state of New York

both beckoned. Quebec offered, again for reasons of convenience and economy, an English speaking teachers' union, the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers (PAPT). This body has a long history of friendly cooperation with the English "establishment" in Quebec and a very recent history of relatively militant union activity. As soon as the reform government of Jean Lesage put teachers under the Labour Code of Quebec in 1965, their local associations quickly became certified as bargaining units. That is to say, they became labour unions. The local associations of French-speaking teachers had been united under the Quebec Teachers' Corporation (now CEQ) since the fifties and had therefore gained some experience in collective bargaining before 1965. The Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers (PACT) and PAPT moved to become unions under the code and soon developed an appropriate ideology and strategy. The first major confrontation occurred in January and February 1967 when some 20,000 members of CEQ went on strike in various parts of the province and stayed out until Premier Daniel Johnson and his National Union government legislated the teachers back to work, banned teachers' strikes for 16 months and froze the existing salaries of teachers. Worst of all, from the teachers' standpoint, the bill mandated provincial negotiation of all teachers' salaries. This act (Bill 25) effectively united the teachers of all three organizations against the government and initiated a pattern of militant activity that has continued to the present time. The CEQ has been in the vanguard with all the usual pressure devices; work-to-rule, rotating strikes, political manifestoes, rallies and demonstrations. PAPT has been inhibited by its century of respectability as a professional association from becoming a

radical union like the CEQ or, to a lesser extent, the PACT. Nevertheless, PAPT has been forced by recent events to fight for its members as vigorously as the other two. It should be emphasized that the teacher unions in Quebec are federations of relatively autonomous local associations. The provincial teacher bodies in Ontario, by comparison, are more the creators and general managers of the local associations and are therefore less like true federations.

South of the border in New York, teacher unionism flourished in the sixties under the powerful stimulation of industrial union activists, especially Walter Reuther. He spearheaded and liberally financed a national effort to organize white collar workers. The chosen instrument for the teaching profession was the American Federation of Teachers, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO. The immediate task was to persuade large numbers of teachers to defect from the sluggish National Education Association and go the militant collective bargaining route with the AFT. In 1960, in New York City, the United Federation of Teachers was formed as a local of the AFT. Using intense membership drives, exaggerated claims to power and threats of strikes, the UFT gained collective bargaining rights for all 40,000 New York City teachers by 1962. By the mid-sixties, Albert Shanker had emerged not only as the strongman of the UFT of New York but also as the kingmaker within the American Federation of Teachers as a whole. In 1967-68, New York City was rocked by a series of long and tremendously disruptive teacher strikes over salaries, conditions of work and community control of schools. The union emerged as possibly the most powerful single influence in public education in New York (R.J. Braun 1972; Melvin Urofsky 1970; Martin Mayer 1968):

> In broad outline, Shanker's program is a wholesale adoption of the tenets of trade-unionism combined with an almost mystical belief that teachers alone are capable of understanding how children learn. On the one hand, he claims for teachers all those rights and powers won by organized labor -- the right to organize and to bargain collectively through an exclusive agent, the right to strike, the right to make grievances and to have those grievances redressed through impartial arbitration. As in private industry, the teachers must be able to make demands for increased salaries and benefits without concern for how the employer shall pay for them .... At the same time, the program denies the ability of the lay public to have any but the most general role in the conduct of the schools .... In terms of what that means in bargaining, the teachers, through their union, claim the right to determine curriculum, to select text books, to determine what makes a good or incompetent teacher, to control entry to and dismissal from the profession, and generally to control the teaching profession ....[1]

In 1972, the AFT and NYSUT merged in New York state to form a monolithic teacher organization (New York State United Teachers) of 200,000 members from pre-school teachers to university professors. NYSUT has primarily a service function for all the locals that make it up. Albert Shanker is the executive vice president of the big state organization and is also the president of the UFT in New York City.

From this brief descriptive statement, it is clear that unionism is entrenched among New York teachers as it is among Quebec teachers. It

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[1] R.J. Braun, Teachers and Power (New York 1972), pp. 149-50.

should also be noted that teachers in the U.S.A. are generally classified as public employees for legislative purposes. As evidence of this, the Taylor law of 1973 in New York regulates employer-employee relationships for all public servants, both state and municipal. This law prohibits the strike and provides severe penalties for violations. It is no surprise, therefore, that the teacher unions of New York are trying to have the Taylor law re-written.

This study, then, might reveal differences in militancy between legally unionized teachers and Ontario teachers. Also, the recent history and status of New York teachers poses the incidental question whether governmental categorisation of teachers as public employees would increase their sense of deprivation as professionals and consequently their militancy.

Method

The Questionnaire

The Fris questionnaire of 1974 was adapted (See Appendix B) to facilitate the inclusion of non-Ontario teachers and teachers of both elementary and secondary pupils. The former consideration merely called for minor word changes to eliminate as far as possible Ontario connotations. To comprehend teachers from kindergarten to grade 12 in the survey, I decided to delete two personal variables from the Fris instrument, "Experience in Non-Teaching Career", and "Career Goals", and substitute for them "Age of Children Taught". It will be noted that this variable produced a hypothesis of its own. In the militancy section of the questionnaire (Negotiating Strategies Opinionnaire) the questions asked only for the respondents' degree of support for the strategies and not

for the respondents' actual experience with them. There were reasons for believing that this latter information might be seen as a means of identifying the respondent, at least as to his local association.

As mentioned earlier, five dimensions of professionalism constitute the basis of the 30 items in each of the sections entitled Professional Ideals and Professional Achievements. They are:

1. Autonomy, both group and individual. The items refer to the power to discipline colleagues; control over training, admission, expulsion and firing of members; ability to determine teaching materials, in-service training of teachers, and working conditions for teachers.
2. A public service commitment. These items refer to relationships or involvement with the community, parents, public authorities in education and political parties.
3. Responsibility for what happens to the client (pupil) within the general context of teaching. These items refer to the teachers' effect on the pupils in such areas as value clarification, emotional growth and quality and quantity of learning.
4. Responsibility for the competency of the membership. These items refer to teacher-initiated measures to ensure a knowledgeable and competent teacher force. Some of them blend with Autonomy features.
5. Individual recognition of achievements of members. These items relate to the means of rewarding, conferring status and distinguishing teachers for their accomplishments.

In the Ideals section, the respondents check on a five point Likert scale the degree of their agreement with each item, from Strongly Agree, through Undecided to Strongly Disagree. In the Achievements section, they encounter the same items in a different order and phrased to elicit an estimate of the degree of achievement of their ideals, ranging from Very Little through five points to a Very Great Deal.

In the Militancy section (Negotiating Strategies Opinionnaire is the euphemistic title), there are 13 items, seven of which are "conflict oriented", as Fris put it. The teachers are asked to express their attitude towards each strategy on a five point scale ranging from Strongly Support through Undecided to Strongly Disagree. The militant actions included in the seven items are to defeat elected officials at the polls, to work to rule or blacklist the board, to have study sessions or mini-strikes, to obstruct board office routines, to resign en masse, to have a conventional strike, and, finally, to force binding arbitration. Their responses to these items are used to calculate their militancy.

This militancy measure is the reference point for the entire study. The predominant question is the strength of the relationship of militancy to role deprivation, the latter being the result of subtracting Professional Achievements from Professional Ideals as measured in the first two scales. It should be clear from the foregoing, that role deprivation is expressed on each of the five dimensions of professionalism.

The Survey

I determined that the sample of each of the four teacher populations (Ontario public elementary teachers, Ontario Catholic teachers, Quebec Protestant teachers, and New York teachers) should include approximately

every one in ten teachers, randomly selected, in a designated territory. According to that principle, the half of Ontario, roughly speaking, east of Oshawa and north to Sudbury was used to survey 601 public elementary teachers (401 FWTAO and 200 OPSMTF), and 400 Catholic teachers (OECTA). All of Quebec province was covered to survey 490 Protestant teachers (PAPT); the upstate New York counties serviced by the Watertown office of NYSUT provided a sample 198 members of the New York teachers' union. All four groups offered an adequate distribution of teachers for all the items within the personal variables at the beginning of the questionnaire (Sex, Teaching Experience, etc.) except the one entitled "Teaching Setting". In that case, there were no teachers in the New York sample teaching in an urban setting (100,000 persons or more). In summary, 1689 teachers were surveyed by mail with the questionnaire in January 1975. (See Appendix C for mechanical details of the survey.) Although 68 per cent of the questionnaires were completed and returned, 65 per cent were actually processed for statistical purposes as follows:

Ontario public elementary	390
Ontario Catholic teachers	274
Quebec Protestant teachers	297
New York teachers	134

The Hypotheses

A set of hypothetical statements was prepared to establish a close relationship with the Fris study and to guide the processing of the data. They are educated guesses in relation to current facts. Also, their verbal form may or may not be compatible with statistical procedures. Should the statistical outcome undermine or put in doubt any one of the

hypotheses, it would be changed or abandoned as necessary in drawing up the results of the study.

General hypothesis:

The greater a teacher's professional role deprivation, the greater will be his/her support for militant action in contract negotiations.

Subsidiary hypotheses:

1. Levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher in total among Quebec teachers than among combined Ontario teachers.

2. Levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher in total among New York teachers than among combined Ontario teachers.

3. Levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher among Ontario Catholic teachers than among Ontario public teachers.

4. Levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher among male teachers than female.

5. Levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher among married teachers than unmarried ones.

6. Levels of role deprivation and militancy increase with years of teaching experience.

7. Levels of role deprivation and militancy increase with the educational attainment of the teachers.

8. Levels of role deprivation and militancy increase with the age of the children taught.

9. Levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher among urban (over 100,000 population) than among other teachers.

10. There is a positive relationship between militancy on one hand and professional acitivity on the other.

11. Of militant activities available to teachers, the strike is the most favoured.

Processing the Data

Items in the personal section of the questionnaire were assigned values as shown within the brackets after the blank spaces (see Appendix B). Items in the professionalism sections were assigned values as follows:

Professional Ideals	Professional Achievements	Militancy
SD = 1	VL = 1	SD = 1
D = 2	S = 2	D = 2
? = 3	Qb = 3	? = 3
A = 4	GD = 4	S = 4
SA = 5	VGD = 5	SS = 5

The six items on page one (Personal Background) and the four parts of the Professional Activity section on page two were designated personal variables. All the items in the professionalism sections became the predictive variables. In addition, several new variables were computed as follows:

1. A summary Professional Activity variable (No. 12) derived from the Yes responses to the four parts of the question on professional activities.
2. Autonomy Ideal and Achievement (No. 43 and No. 78) derived from the ten related items in the Ideals and Achievements section.

3. Public Service Ideal and Achievement (No. 44 and No. 79) -- four related items in the two sections.

4. Competency Ideal and Achievement (No. 45 and No. 80) -- five related items in the two sections.

5. Individual Recognition Ideal and Achievement (No. 46 and No. 81) -- six related items in the two sections.

6. Responsibility Ideal and Achievement (No. 47 and No. 82) -- five related items in the two sections.

7. Militancy (No. 96) derived from the seven pertinent items in the last section. In due course, variable 96 became based on five items (those in the Negotiating Strategies section numbered 2, 4, 6, 10 and 11) when it was discovered through analysis that 8 and 13 showed no evidence of being related to the predictive variables.

8. Role deprivation variables: General (No. 97), Autonomy (No. 98), Public Service (No. 99), Competency (No. 100), Individual Recognition (No. 101), and Responsibility (No. 102). These contrast variables were derived from subtracting the appropriate Achievement variables (Nos. 78-82) from the Ideals variables (Nos. 43-47).

All of these computed variables are expressed on the logit scale, $\left[\text{logit } (x) = \log e \frac{(x-.5)}{(5.5-x)}\right]$, in order to minimize skewness and stabilize variability on the scoring scale. There are, therefore, two forms of expressing the data which are identified as necessary in the statistical tables. All statements of results, of course, are based on data in comparable form.

The data were subjected to canonical correlation analysis and multiple regression analysis. These techniques isolated the strongest and most consistent relationships between certain variables (both personal and professional) on one hand and militancy on the other hand. This process, carried on over several weeks, effectively eliminated several factors originally suspected to be related to militancy, and revealed some other factors the importance of which was unsuspected. These developments will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The Original Hypotheses

The general hypothesis of the study, that support for militant action in negotiations increases with role deprivation, will be considered later in this chapter. First, I shall quickly review the subsidiary hypotheses and how they fared.

The first one, that levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher in total among Quebec (Protestant) teachers than among combined Ontario teachers, was not supported by the results (see Table 1). Ontario Catholic teachers produced the highest overall mean score on role deprivation and the highest militancy score. The public elementary teachers of Ontario also had a slightly higher deprivation score than the Quebec teachers. The Quebec teachers, on the other hand, had a higher militancy score than the Ontario public teachers by a small margin.

The second one, that deprivation and militancy scores are higher in total among New York teachers than among combined Ontario teachers, was not supported either. The New York teachers had both the lowest deprivation score and the lowest militancy score of the four groups in the survey. It should be remembered that the New York sample was located in a rural section in the northern part of the state.

Table 1. Mean Scores for Militancy and Elements of Deprivation*

Variable	Ont. Public Teachers	Ont. Cath. Teachers	Que. Prot. Teachers	New York Teachers	All
Autonomy - deprivation	2.27	2.39	2.45	2.06	2.33
Public service - deprivation	1.79	1.80	1.70	1.70	1.76
Competency control - deprivation	1.96	1.87	1.79	1.70	1.86
Personal recognition - deprivation	2.33	2.52	2.31	2.27	2.36
Responsibility for program - deprivation	.73	.71	.79	.61	.72
Role deprivation - general	1.82	1.86	1.81	1.67	1.81
Militancy	-0.26	0.13	-0.22	-0.45	-0.18

*The mean scores reported in this table are shown according to a logit scale ranging from a minimum of -4.4 to a maximum of +4.4

The third, that deprivation and militancy scores are higher among Ontario Catholic teachers than Ontario public teachers, was supported by the results but not in an overwhelming way. With respect to group and individual autonomy and recognition of the individual achievements of teachers, the Catholic teachers rated themselves as more deprived than the other Ontario teachers.

The fourth, that levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher among male teachers than female, yielded a mixed result. Using correlation coefficients, rather than means (see Table 2), one observes that there is a positive relationship between being male and supporting militant methods in negotiations.

Table 2. Correlation Coefficients, Teacher Sex and Class Age Versus Militancy

Variable vs. Militancy	Ont. Public Teachers	Ont. Cath. Teachers	Quebec Prot. Teachers	New York Teachers	All
Male vs. Female	.057	.203	.261	.198	.124
Older pupils vs. younger pupils	.004	.045	.252	.229	.076

This finding tends to support earlier findings that men are more agressive in their career or professional activities than women. Donald A. Myers documents this phenomenon in his book Teacher Power -- Professionalization and Collective Bargaining, published in 1973. The strongest statistical relationship between male teachers and militancy is in the Quebec group and the weakest relationship is in the Ontario public school group. Using the area of greatest professional role deprivation, Recognition of Individual Achievements, as the reference for correlations, one finds that there is no more sense of deprivation among male teachers than among female teachers.

The fifth hypothesis, that levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher among married teachers than unmarried ones was not supported. Regression analysis of the data for all the teachers produced no significant relationship between marital status and militancy. There was a weak relationship between marriage and militancy in the Ontario public teachers' group and an equally weak relationship between single status and militancy among the New York teachers. In the over-all picture, these effects cancelled each other out.

The sixth, that levels of role deprivation and militancy increase with years of experience, was not supported. Quite the contrary. There was a consistent negative relationship in the regression analysis between increasing years of experience in teaching and militancy. It is appropriate to compare this finding with that of the American researchers Rempel and Bentley, who reported in the Journal of Teacher Education (Winter 1970) on their study of teacher morale. They found that morale among teachers steadily rises with experience except for a minor slump in the age bracket 26-35. The implication of this comparison is that militancy and low morale are related. I believe that such an inference is warranted.

The seventh, that role deprivation and militancy increase with the educational attainment of the teachers, was not clearly supported. The percentage distribution of the responding teachers through the four levels of educational attainment is shown in Table 3..

Table 3. Degree Credits of Teachers Surveyed

Education	Ontario Public Teachers (K-8)	Ontario Catholic Teachers (K-8)	Quebec Protestant Teachers (K-12)	New York Teachers (K-12)
Less than a Bachelor Degree	56.7%	56.6%	29.6%	3.0%
Bachelor Degree	13.7	14.6	12.5	5.2
Bachelor's plus credits	22.9	20.4	43.8	58.2
Master's or better	6.4	8.4	14.1	33.6

In the regression analysis, the educational attainments of the teachers rather weakly predicted militancy among the American and Quebec teachers, but had no predictive effect for the Ontario teachers. This suggests that the high school teachers in the Quebec and American samples have a strong influence on the militant attitude and behaviour of those groups.

The eighth, that role deprivation and militancy increase with the age of the children taught, was generally supported. That is to say, there were significant positive correlations between the increasing age of the classes taught and the militancy of the teachers within the two groups that contain high school teachers. (See Table 2.) In the two Ontario groups (all elementary teachers) there was no apparent relationship between the increasing age of the children taught and the militancy of the teachers. This further supports the belief that high school teachers are more militant. Citizens of Ontario will not be surprised to hear this!

The ninth hypothesis, that levels of role deprivation and militancy are higher among urban (centres over 100,000 population) than among other teachers, was supported. Large fractions of the Ontario teachers sampled were teaching in Ottawa-Carleton and Sudbury and its suburbs. About half of the Quebec sample were located in Greater Montreal. Because there were no urban teachers (by definition given) in the American sample, that particular variable was deleted from the program of the New York teachers.

The tenth hypothesis, that there is a positive relationship between professional activity (active participation in professional associations, involvement in teacher-board negotiations, etc.) and militancy was

supported. The coefficients of correlation are noticeably larger for the kindergarten to grade 12 teachers than for the kindergarten to grade 8 teachers (Quebec: .22, New York: .19, Ontario public: .08, Ontario Catholic: .04), another intimation of the prominent place of high school teachers in the militancy picture. Table 4 reports the per cent of teachers who answered yes to the professional activity questions listed on the left side of the table.

Table 4. Professional Activity -- Yes Answers

Activity	Ont. Public Teachers	Ont. Cath. Teachers	Que. Prot. Teachers	New York Teachers	All
Member of salary negotiating team -- past 10 years	20.9%	19.3%	9.9%	23.0%	17.1%
Member of other teacher association committees -- past 10 years	53.7	53.5	45.3	81.4	55.0
Consider self active supporter of association	61.8	82.1	64.3	82.2	70.0
Consider self actively trying to change or displace association	15.2	11.5	10.1	19.4	13.4

It is worth noting that the New York teachers are the most professionally active of the four groups by a substantial margin yet in total they are the least militant. The Quebec Protestant teachers' relative lack of involvement may be attributable in part to the provincial take-over of negotiations.

The final hypothesis, that the strike is the most favoured of militant activities available to teachers, was not supported. There were seven items in the Negotiating Strategies section of the questionnaire that were originally used to measure militancy and which can be paraphrased as follows: 2. oust elected officals, 4. work to rule, 6. mini-strike, 8. impede administrators, 10. resign en masse, 11. strike, 13. forced arbitration. As mentioned above, items 8 and 13 (Variables 90 and 95) were deleted from the computation of militancy after it was discovered that they made no reliable contribution to the prediction of militancy. This left the strike as the least favoured instrument of both groups of Ontario teachers and the second least favoured among the Quebec and New York teachers. In Table 5 the strategies are ranked from 1 to 5 in order of their preference by the teacher group concerned.

Table 5. Rank Order of Preference of Militant Strategies

Strategy	Ont. Public Teachers	Ont. Catholic Teachers	Que. Prot. Teachers	New York Teachers
Oust elected officials	1	2	1	1
Work to rule	2	3	2	2
Mini-strike	3	4	3	3
Resign en masse	4	1	5	5
Strike	5	5	4	4

General Analysis of Results

Having disposed of the original hypotheses, I now turn to some of the over-riding outcomes of the study.

As the analysis of the data proceeded, it became possible to reduce quite drastically the number of factors (or variables) in the study which clearly foretold militant inclinations. The underlying proposition of the study, the greater the role deprivation of teachers the greater their militancy, turned out to be an over-simplified statement of an extremely complex set of forces at work. For that reason, role deprivation scores (the result of combining all the scores on each of the five dimensions of professionalism and subtracting the achievements from the ideals) do not figure very largely in the preceding review of the hypotheses. These scores are blurred by containing information from teachers who, let us say, have high ideals, a perception of low achievement and yet little inclination to militancy; or from teachers registering modest ideals, higher achievements but nevertheless a strong inclination to militancy and so forth. Canonical correlation and multiple regression analysis of all the variables, in relation to militancy, finally produced a set of factors that most clearly predicted militancy, both positively and negatively. For the positive predictors, one can say that the higher the teachers score on one of those items the more militant they are likely to be and for the negative predictors, the higher they score on one of those items the less militant they are likely to be.

As outlined above, certain personal factors correlate positively with militancy: the male sex, teaching high school, teaching in a large

city, and active involvement in teacher associations. What are the professional issues or interests contained in the questionnaire that relate to militancy? First, it may be enlightening to see which of these do not apparently contribute to militancy. In general, the militancy of all the groups surveyed cannot be related to the dimension of professionalism labelled Responsibility for the Program of Instruction . The teachers indicated that they have plunged into such waters as helping pupils with their feelings and their values, developing new classroom procedures, creating new teaching-learning environments and being accountable to the public. They do not express general frustration or deprivation or militancy on this dimension.

Along the other dimensions of professionalism, there are selected items or components that have little or nothing to say about militancy. In the area of Autonomy, Group and Personal, the teachers generally are satisfied with their influence and participation in in-service training programs. They do not especially want to exercise rights of expulsion over their own association members. In respect of ensuring the Competency of the Members, teachers are not very disposed to discipline incompetent or immoral members. The new morality seems to have undermined their certainty (along with everybody else's) on moral questions. On the dimension, Recognition of Individual Achievements, the teachers "smelled a rat", namely merit pay, in some of the items. They were badly divided on such issues as special allowances for unusually complex teaching tasks, sharing highly competent teachers among school staff members and honouring publicly their outstanding members. The New York teachers were noticeably chary of such moves.

Table 6. Regression Coefficients of Certain Variables That Positively Predict Militancy

Variable Number	Professional Issue	Ont. Public Teachers	Ont. Cath. Teachers	Que. Prot. Teachers	New York Teachers	All
Autonomy (group and individual)						
35	Control of work conditions desired	.241	.298	.140	.128	.215
39	Control of class size desired	.141	.128	.156	.122	.145
36	Control of entry desired	.147	.024	.100	.104	.088
17	Control of teacher training desired	.138	.043	-.021*	.124	.074
Public Service Commitment						
25	Political participation desired	.115	.089	.045	.187	.100
66	Political participation achieved	.086	.079	.130	.041	.083
Recognition of Individual Achievement						
26	Sabbaticals desired	-.057*	.318	.090	.138	.088
42	Awards desired	.120	-.106*	.073	.165	.069
19	Status positions desired	.010	.088	.075	.004	.045

*Negative predictors

Now back to the question of issues that contribute positively to teacher militancy. The evidence is quite clear in the above table (Table 6). Most of the coefficients reported in this table were significant at better than the .01 level. In general, there was an insistent clamour in the data for more autonomy in general, and specifically for 1) control of working conditions in the school, and

2) control of the training and admission of new teachers. In the autonomy category, these two issues provided a clear and dominant basis for predicting militancy in all the groups of teachers. The current drive in negotiations for working conditions to be contractually fixed reinforces the message of the data. Also, the effort within the Ontario Teachers' Federation to gain more influence over teacher training and certification is pertinent to these findings.

Within the Public Service aspect of professionalism, there is one positive predictor of militancy and that is involvement in political action. In ideal terms, all the teachers in the survey believe they should be only moderately active politically (mean score .75 on a scale -2.2 to +2.2) and they perceive a limited amount of actual political action by their fellows (mean score -1.19). But the significant fact is that those who scored high for political activity, ideally or actually, also scored high for militant activity in negotiations.

The third set of positive predictors of militancy was in the area of Recognition of Individual Achievements. The strength of desire for sabbatical leave arrangements, especially within the Ontario Catholic teachers, was a key to their militancy. Militancy within the Ontario public teachers and the New York teachers was rather strongly signalled by their desire for scholarships and other awards for their teachers. All the groups are militant in relation to their desire for more positions of instructional responsibility (rather than administrative) that offer higher pay and greater status. There is a clue here that the traditional ladder through the education hierarchy is not an adequate avenue of career growth for the more militant teachers.

The factors that negatively predict militancy are shown in Table 7. These factors point to the ideals, goals and preferences of teachers who are less militant. For purposes of interpreting the statistics, it is necessary to imagine all the teachers on a militancy continuum with those to the left of the centre point being increasingly less militant and those to the right being increasingly more militant. The most consistent predictors of decreasing militancy were on the Competency and Public Service dimensions (Table 7). The teachers who scored strongly in favour of a professional code of conduct and for an up-to-date pedagogy were predictably less militant. One could wish that the reverse were indicated because of the implication that teacher militancy does not particularly stress either a competent or an ethical membership in its set of goals.

The concept of public service through political participation was related to rising militancy. The less militant teachers indicated a preference for a public service stance featuring a close working relationship with education officials, both state/provincial and municipal, and with the citizens of the local community. It would be unfair and inaccurate to say that a teacher engaged in political action is less committed to serving the public than one who concentrates on harmonious relations with his superiors and the community. The point being made is that militant teachers are turning to political action as a legitimate expression of their interest in the welfare of society and are apparently rejecting the path of cooperation within the established education structure.

Table 7. Regression Coefficients of Certain Variables That Negatively Predict Militancy

Variable Number	Professional Issue	Ont. Public Teachers	Ont. Cath. Teachers	Que. Prot. Teachers	New York Teachers	All
Competency						
34	Conduct code desired	-.178	-.191	-.204	-.405	-.210
24	Up-dating desired	-.201	-.120	-.261	-.063	-.182
Public Service Commitment						
21	Official leadership desired	-.062	-.128	-.149	-.034	-.098
41	Teacher as change agent desired	-.132	-.139	-.028	-.163	-.101
69	Community contact received	-.102	-.036	.037*	.022*	-.054
Recognition of Individual Achievement						
53	Awards received	-.067	.018*	-.051	-.260	-.076
72	Status positions received	-.161	.075*	-.078	.120*	-.054
76	Sabbaticals received	.017*	-.022	-.081	-.094	-.036

*Positive predictors

Just as Recognition of Achievements, as an ideal or desire, predicted increasing militancy, so also did certain forms of recognition actually received (scholarships, sabbatical leaves and status positions) predict decreasing militancy. There is nothing surprising about this. It is worth mentioning, however, that teacher militancy can be modified by responding to the typical need of the teacher to be individually recognized and positively reinforced.

In concluding this analysis of the results, I refer again to the general hypothesis of the study, that militant actions in negotiations increase with role deprivation. The statistics in Table 8 provide general support for this proposition.

Table 8. Summary of Militancy and Deprivation Mean Scores*

Variable	Ont. Public Teachers	Ont. Cath. Teachers	Que. Prot. Teachers	New York Teachers
General Role Deprivation	1.82	1.86	1.81	1.67
Support for Militant Action	-.26	.13	-.22	-.45

*The mean scores reported in this table are shown according to a logit scale ranging from a minimum of -4.4 to a maximum of +4.4.

It should be clear from the foregoing discussion that role deprivation among teachers takes on concrete meaning only in reference to specific features of the life of a teacher. Therefore it is more to the point to ponder such specifics as working conditions, relationships with the public, dignities and awards, certification, and in-service training than to grapple with an abstraction like role deprivation.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

As this study concludes, the Minister of Education of Ontario is piloting Bill 100 through the legislative process, a bill to regulate teacher-board negotiations. It is a measure of the pragmatism of the Davis government that the bill effectively regularizes what has evolved over the past 20 years. As Mr. Wells said in his introduction of the legislation, "...it recognizes clearly the realities of collective bargaining in the field of education". Some of the past and current realities which are authorized in the act are these:

1. Any term or condition of employment is negotiable.
2. The collective agreement becomes part and parcel of the personal contract of employment.
3. Arbitration and its variant, Final Offer Selection, may take place only if both parties agree.
4. Grievance procedures will be clearly set out in each agreement or, failing that, in the act.
5. The strike for teachers (but not principals and vice-principals) is allowed. (Strikes are defined to include working to rule and mass resignation.)

Some new features:

1. An Education Relations Commission set up by the government to monitor negotiations and develop a staff of mediators,

fact finders, arbitrators and selectors. The Commission will also judge the point of serious damage to the academic progress of the pupils in the event of a strike or lock-out, and advise the minister.

2. The lock-out may be used by boards when in their judgement, a school should be closed to protect the building, the supplies and the pupils.

3. The strike may be used only after an agreement has expired, the teachers have voted against the board's last offer and in favour of striking (both by secret ballot), a government fact finder has reported to both parties, and 30 days have elapsed after the presentation of the fact finder's report. Severe penalties are provided for illegal strike action.

However perfect or imperfect the legislation, it will answer a need which became desperate in the last two years.

The results of this study lead to a number of conclusions:

1. The great majority of teachers prefer non-militant methods. The mean scores for all the teachers (on a scale +2.2 to -2.2) for two non-militant strategies very commonly employed in negotiations, namely, use of a professional mediator and presentation of views to the board by teachers are 1.19 and 1.43. The mean scores for two militant strategies, namely, restriction of teacher services (work-to-rule) and the strike are, by contrast, .06 and -.37. School board members and the public generally should capitalize on this strong preference among teachers for conciliatory methods.

2. The perceived needs of the teachers focus on their professional autonomy and the recognition they receive as persons (Table 6). These are the issues that touch the raw nerves of dissatisfaction among them and, therefore, positively predict their militancy. (Incidentally, it is taken for granted that teachers perceive a need for higher salaries, better fringe benefits and greater job security. In these matters, they are pursuing the same goals as everybody else in modern society.) Appendix A is an organization and classification of the teacher comments that were written on the questionnaires. The comments help one to understand the mood and morale of the teachers, even though they have little if any statistical reliability. A dominant theme in the comments is the teachers' sense of isolation: that the board members and officials do not understand the daily demand on their teachers, that the public does not really care about them as educators, that the lines of communication must be repaired. Whatever the accuracy of these views, there is little doubt that the teachers have alienated much of the public by forcing up local tax rates to pay higher salaries. It is possible that this emphasis on money misses the point. Is it the case that boards and teachers have taken each other "down the garden path" of salary scales, increments, differentials, allowances, etc. at the expense of teacher involvement in determining working conditions and fuller recognition of their achievements?

Clearly, the teachers cannot have it both ways -- i.e., salaries as high as the traffic will stand and working conditions at some optimum level defined by a teacher committee. The results of this study invite an examination of ways to broaden the spectrum of negotiation so that

salary costs do not undermine the other possibilities of a good work situation for a teacher. It would seem conducive to better teacher morale for boards to take an imaginative set of proposals to the bargaining table relating to active teacher participation in policy making and to the various ways in which teachers can be honoured, rewarded and additionally dignified. Most boards cast themselves in a reactionary mould by having nothing to offer and merely reacting negatively to teacher proposals. Most teacher negotiators cast themselves in a money-seeking mould by allowing salaries and fringe benefits to become the top priority as the negotiation gets closer to the wire. They know that they can hold the support of their teacher constituents as long as they can report progress on the money front.

It is highly pertinent to reflect on the strong response of the teachers to the question of sabbatical leave arrangements (see Table 6). The highest regression coefficient predicting militancy in the entire output of this study was that of the Ontario Catholic teachers respecting sabbatical leaves (.318). There is enormous potential in a lengthy leave of absence (six months or more) for personal regeneration, renewal and fulfillment. A generous leave plan would <u>not</u> contain such provisions as these (selected at random from a few collective agreements at hand):

> "The primary purpose of such leave will be the meeting of a need within the system." That might better read "...the meeting of the applicant's need as teacher and person".
>
> or
>
> "The Board will extend leave of absence to at least one applicant per year for studies in Religious Education, Special Education, etc."

or

> "The applicant must undertake a full-time program of formal study or graduate research. It shall not be granted to upgrade a teacher in a basic classification of the salary schedule."

There is a restrictive, autocratic and manipulative tone to these provisions, which may be typical, that neutralizes the spirit and essence of sabbatical leave.

This little excursion into sabbatical leavetaking is not intended to give it special importance. It exemplifies a long list of possibilities for productive negotiations between teachers and boards: teacher participation in policy making both at the system level and the school level, in the hiring of new staff and in the management of the school; the awarding of scholarships and bursaries for summer study; assignments to special responsibilities (short-term and longterm) such as division chairmen, project coordinators, in-service education leaders, inter-disciplinary curriculum developers and so forth.

Suggesting that negotiations take place on such a broad front does not mean that the collective agreement should contain 200 pages of detailed specifications requiring eternal vigilance by watchdogs. That, of course, would be counter-productive. The negotiations could and should be almost continuous for the sake of good communication and the agreements should be statements of principle in large measure (except for specifics such as salary and money benefits generally).

3. The third and last conclusion of this study returns to the discussion in Chapter Three: self-fulfillment is the key to the new professionalism that is emerging. It may be disturbing to some that teachers show little

interest in disciplining their colleagues, that they tend to reject official leadership in education, and that their public service orientation is in the direction of the levers of power (politics). It should, at the same time, be reassuring to all that they are ready to be independent persons, accountable for the effects they have on the children. There is an opportunity here for the authorities in public education to release much potential skill and talent and to ensure that good will pervades the classrooms.

APPENDIX A

COMMENTS OF RESPONDING TEACHERS

Of 1118 returned questionnaires from the five associations of teachers, 234 contained personal comments by the teachers. In a survey of this kind, it is reasonable to view gratuitous observations, queries and suggestions as a crude index of anxiety, morale and professional zeal. For that reason, this summary is given.

A. Percentage of responses with comments by specified teacher association:

Quebec Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers	29%
Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation	21.7%
New York State United Teachers	19.7%
Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association	16.6%
Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario	16.4%

B. Categories of comments with a percentage breakdown by specified association of the number of comments in each category:

	PAPT	OPSMTF	NYSUT	OECTA	FWTAO
1. Another negotiating strategy (in addition to those implied by the questions in section 4)	15%	33%	33%	22%	23%
2. Interested in study and its results	14%	20%	19%	9%	16%
3. Critical of study in general	8%	0%	4%	9%	2%

	PAPT	OPSMTF	NYSUT	OECTA	FWTAO
4. Critical of procedures or language of study	10%	10%	19%	7%	9%
5. Expressing confidence in the structure of education and its future	15%	10%	4%	7%	19%
6. Expressing lack of confidence in system or discouragement or cynicism or pessimism	25%	13%	7%	26%	14%
7. Other	15%	13%	15%	22%	16%

Note: These percentages do not total exactly 100 because some comments are assigned to two or more categories.

C. A selection of comments chosen for their representative quality:

1. ANOTHER STRATEGY

FWTAO -- (These comments indicate dissatisfaction with the present trend in bargaining.)

"Would prefer negotiations conducted on a basis of community needs -- not an adversary system."

"There has to be personal interaction between boards and teachers or they will never realize the need to cut class size, increase training, reduce building cost, etc."

"I can see a time coming when a professional negotiator is going to have to take up the bargaining for most areas."

"Establish a salary pacemaker geared to the cost of living index."

OPSMTF -- (These comments favour tougher tactics.)

"Honest straightforward communication pays off -- both with the board and the public."

"I feel that we must go union, control our membership and do such things as establish a strike fund."

"Inform teachers of the workings of the political process."

OPSMTF (cont'd)

"Each side gives a mediator their minimum acceptable offer; mediator accepts one or the other and this is binding to both parties."

OECTA -- (There is a plea here for leadership by the Minister of Education)

"Better communications between ministry, boards and teachers as well as the public."

"There should be legislation at the provincial level regarding contracts and teacher disputes."

"The Ministry of Education should maintain a consistent working relationship with the Teacher Federations."

"How about honest, open negotiations?"

PAPT -- (There is an impulse in these comments to influence the public and the Quebec government.)

"The most important strategy is to inform the public of the demands and the rationale of them."

"Under the DECREE system of the Province of Quebec there is no solution except for teachers to strike regardless of the consequences, including jail sentences."

"Invite school board members to teach several lessons and manage different types of classes."

"Get school board members in the schools much more often. Get parents and interested public in the schools much more often."

"Dissolve the union control over teachers and negotiate on a one-to-one basis with our employer -- i.e., the Board."

"Put teachers in professional and financial control of education."

NYSUT -- (Interest in political action is evident here.)

"I think a less secretive approach to negotiations would be a help. Ultimately it is the public that will be our strength or weakness."

"Actively participate in elections of school board officials."

"Support political campaigns that promote negotiations on a county wide level."

2. CRITICAL OF STUDY IN GENERAL

OECTA

"Now don't waste my time on salary procedures when so much of professional competence is ignored (in the questionnaire)."

PAPT

"In view of the Provincial governments methods and attitudes in dealing with teachers' contracts, there is not much that is applicable to Quebec teachers in your last section."

"I question the value of these questionnaires in correctly gauging public opinion among teachers for the following reasons:

1. Many teachers will not answer these conscientiously enough.
2. Interpretations of these questions vary from teacher to teacher.
3. Teachers' opinions tend to change from time to time and are not fixed."

NYSUT

"There is an apparent bias in the type and manner of questions asked that may make results invalid."

3. CRITICAL OF FEATURES OF STUDY

FWTAO

"Some of the meanings and terms are ambiguous."

PAPT

"It's quite difficult to answer some of these questions as I have started to teach only this year."

4. EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN CURRENT EDUCATION SYSTEM

FWTAO

"I feel that people should remember that they agreed to work for a board on their terms when they were hired."

"I'm sick of the talk of STRIKE."

"I am not willing to do anything that will hinder the learning of my pupils."

OPSMTF

"Teachers are underpaid but board officials must represent the people, not only the teachers."

OECTA

"Our school board just went through mass resignation. As a result we obtained a fair and just settlement for the first time in my 5 years."

"Wouldn't it be wonderful to assess the satisfactions and joys of our profession."

PAPT

"Whether I am classed as a professional or not is neither here nor there. My students and I have a learning situation for both of us."

5. LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN SYSTEM: DISCOURAGEMENT, CYNICISM, PESSIMISM

FWTAO

"I think in a general sense we sold ourselves out years ago by succumbing to materialistic and financial aims at the expense of our professional standards."

"Being in the first stages of a Master's degree I am fast realizing that the vast majority are poorly prepared for teaching and remain so."

"Most teachers do behave in a very moral way but unfortunately many teachers have become swingers and are doing the profession a great deal of harm."

OPSMTF

"The idea of depriving school systems of instructional personnel may backfire, since the real pressure is on the clients and their parents."

"Locally teachers are being rewarded by salary and lessened teacher responsibilities in return for compromising their ideals."

"Teachers without degrees cannot pay for courses and expect to live as the "public expects"."

"I spent four years after grade 13 learning to become a competent teacher and I resent my paltry award from society."

OECTA

"In both negotiating sessions I've been involved in (one with a three week walkout) the teachers have sold out for salary and did not enforce any demands for improvement of the educational system."

"Teachers do not enjoy the respect and backing of the parents as they once did."

"If mass resignation must occur again, I will probably quit permanently since I find it a dreadful, humiliating means of achieving our end!"

"My greatest concern was that a large number of younger teachers are somewhat unprofessional in their behaviour and overly concerned with salary gains."

"I firmly believe that no person performing a vital public service and who is paid by public funds should be allowed to withdraw those services -- doctor, nurse, policeman, teacher or other."

PAPT

"In Quebec, the boards and government are "inseparable" at negotiations -- an "unholy" alliance."

"The profession has itself to blame. The only time it approaches the public is when salaries are concerned. Class norms, curriculum are never discussed."

"Being a public servant we save the government millions of dollars by using the strike only to be decreed back to work after a short time."

"Teachers' efforts are so often negated by lack of reinforcement at home that I feel that I can't accept much responsibility at all as I would be found to be a failure in very many cases."

"What education needs is a good clean-up or reform. Once this is done the "real teachers" will not have to go on strike like the common labourer."

6. POTPOURRI

"Have the people opposing our demands teach for a month!"

"Return the strap for punishment to regular classroom teachers."

"Persistence and prayer." (Another strategy)

"Good luck with your efforts in politicizing teachers!"

"If strikes are the last resort, they should at least be done in September -- not open the schools at all so that the parents (being fed up with their children after the summer holiday) put pressure on the government to negotiate agreements satisfactory to the profession and get the schools open."

"We are just another clog (sic) in the machine and if we want more money we have the option to change jobs."

"I share Camus' sentiments and I think my stance would be the same: 'He who has hope for mankind is a fool, and he who gives up is a coward'."

"Teachers have subsidized education for years -- we are not yet considered to be an essential service in the community -- the public is totally unaware of the situation -- RISE & REVOLT."

"Don't ever expect popular support -- nobody cares about anybody but themselves."

"Please let's have more emphasis on the quality of teaching rather than the qualifications."

APPENDIX B

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Section 1: Personal Background

Instructions: Please provide the following information by placing check marks in the appropriate spaces.

Note that this information will be used only to compare the viewpoints of sub-groups of teachers.

Sex: .....

Female _____ (1)

Male _____ (2) 6

Marital status: .....

Married _____ (1)

Unmarried _____ (2) 7

Teaching experience: .....

1- 5 yrs. _____ (1)

6-10 yrs. _____ (2)

11-15 yrs. _____ (3)

16-20 yrs. _____ (4)

21 or more _____ (5) 8

Educational attainment: .....

Less than a Bachelor's degree _____ (1)

Bachelor's degree _____ (2)

Bachelor's plus additional credits _____ (3)

Master's degree or more _____ (4) 9

Teaching duties entirely or mainly with:

Children 5- 8 years old	_____	(1)
Children 9-11 years old	_____	(2)
Children 12-15 years old	_____	(3)
Children 16 years or older	_____	(4)
Not applicable	_____	(5)

10

Teaching setting: .....

An urban complex of 100,000 persons or more	_____	(1)
A small city, town, suburb or rural setting	_____	(2)

11

Participation in professional activities:

(a) Member of teachers' salary negotiating team in the past ten years

Yes _____ (1)

No _____ (2)

12

(b) Member of other teacher association committees in the past ten years, either local or central

Yes _____ (1)

No _____ (2)

13

(c) Do you consider that you have been an active supporter of your teachers' association?

Yes _____ (1)

No _____ (2)

14

(d) Do you consider that you have been actively trying to change or displace your teachers' association?

Yes _____ (1)

No _____ (2)

15

Section 2: Professional Ideals

Instructions: This part of the questionnaire is designed to indicate the characteristics that you believe should be features of teaching if the occupation is to be a true profession.

Please answer the questions by placing a check mark in the appropriate space, to indicate whether you --

Strongly Agree	SA
Agree	A
Are Undecided	?
Disagree	D
Strongly Disagree	SD

Important:

(1) Be sure to answer every question.
(2) Do not place more than one check mark on an item.
(3) Make each item a separate and independent judgement; do not worry about the consistency of your answers.

	SA	A	?	D	SD	
1. Teachers should look to parents and the community for feedback, advice and support.						16
2. Teachers should possess extensive knowledge about principles of learning.						17
3. Teachers should have the power to expel or suspend colleagues from their association in accordance with a written code of professional ethics.						18
4. Teachers' salaries should reflect not only differences in academic achievements and experience but also differences in the complexity of the teaching responsibility.						19
5. Teachers should be a majority in any official body that is involved in approving teacher education programs.						20
6. Teachers should accept responsibility for the formation of important student values and attitudes.						21
7. Teachers should be able to seek promotion to positions of instructional (as opposed to administrative) responsibility that offer better pay and greater status.						22

		SA	A	?	D	SD	
8.	Local school boards should cooperate with teachers in formulating procedures for dismissing a teacher.						23
9.	Teachers should look to state/provincial or local board officials for guidance and approval of their work as teachers.						24
10.	Teachers should accept responsibility for disciplining colleagues who are incompetent or immoral.						25
11.	Teachers themselves should enforce their professional standards.						26
12.	Teachers should keep informed about current trends and practices in their fields of teaching.						27
13.	Teachers should be actively involved in the political process to ensure better education policies and practices.						28
14.	Sabbatical leaves with full or nearly full salary should be available to teachers who can meet approved criteria.						29
15.	Teachers should hold themselves accountable for the learning experiences they provide their students.						30
16.	Teachers should be the ones primarily responsible for the selection of textbooks.						31
17.	Teachers should accept responsibility for helping their students learn to deal with their feelings.						32
18.	Teachers with ideas and skills of exceptional value should be given lighter classroom duties in order that they might share their expertise with other teachers.						33
19.	Teachers should participate in conferences, workshops, and other programs that deal with professional problems.						34
20.	Teachers should support a written code of ethical standards to guide their conduct.						35

		SA	A	?	D	SD	
21.	Local school boards should share with teachers responsibility for planning programs for teachers' in-service growth.						36
22.	Teachers should adhere to a code of professional conduct.						37
23.	Teachers should have a major control over their working conditions.						38
24.	Control over entry into teaching should rest with a board in which the majority consists of in-service teachers.						39
25.	Outstanding achievements in teaching should be publicly recognized with suitable positions of honour.						40
26.	Teachers should develop and test more effective classroom procedures.						41
27.	Teachers should have a strong voice in setting norms for class size.						41
28.	Teachers should accept responsibility for the learning environments in which their students function.						43
29.	Both in and out of the classroom, teachers should be actively involved in improving society.						44
30.	Scholarships, bursaries, and other prizes should be awarded to qualified teachers.						45

Section 3: Professional Achievements

Instructions: This part of the questionnaire is designed to indicate the extent to which you believe that teaching is a profession.

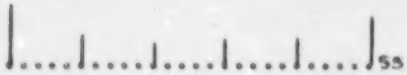
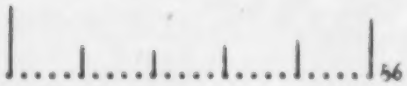
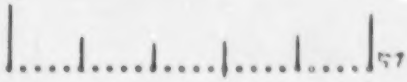
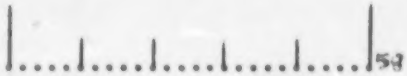
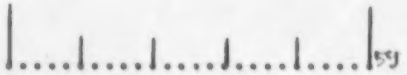
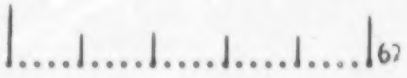
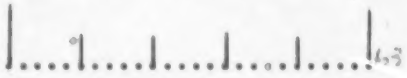
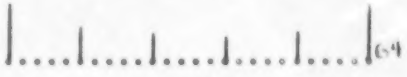
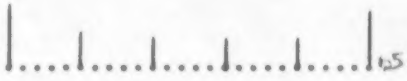
Please answer the questions in the same manner as in Section 2. The answer scale this time ranges through:

Very little/Not at all	VL
Some	S
Quite a bit	QB
A great deal	GD
A very great deal	VGD

Again:

(1) Be sure to answer every question.
(2) No more than one check mark per item.
(3) Do not worry about consistency.

	VL	S	QB	GD	VGD	
1. Are teachers with exceptionally effective programs given lighter classroom duties in order to share their expertise with other teachers?						46
2. Have you or teachers you know, taken part in any formal disciplinary procedures against a colleague charged with incompetence or immorality?						47
3. Are you one of a group or committee of teachers with primary responsibility for selection of textbooks?						48
4. Do you or other teachers plan or help to plan your in-service growth programs?						49
5. Do you see yourself as an agent of social change for the benefit of future generations?						50
6. Are scholarships, bursaries, and other prizes available to teachers in your association?						51
7. Do you and other teachers have a major control over working conditions?						52
8. Do you have the power to suspend or expel colleagues from your association in accordance with a written code of ethics?						53

		VL	S	QB	GD	VGD	
9.	Have you developed and tested more effective classroom procedures?						54
10.	Do you have any share of responsibility for procedures used in firing a teacher?						55
11.	Do you or other teachers have a strong voice in setting norms for class size in your school?						56
12.	Are outstanding teaching achievements given public recognition with suitable positions of honour?						57
13.	Do you receive guidance and approval of your work as a teacher from state/ provincial or local board officials?						58
14.	Do you have extensive knowledge about principles of learning acquired from formal study?						59
15.	Do you participate in conferences, work-shops, and other programs dealing with professional problems?						60
16.	Do you hold yourself accountable for the learning experiences you provide your students?						61
17.	Do you or other in-service teachers have control over entry into teaching?						62
18.	Do you help your students learn to deal with their feelings?						63
19.	Do you or your colleagues participate actively in the political process?						64
20.	Do you accept responsibility for the formation of important student values and attitudes?						65
21.	Do teachers' salaries reflect not only differences in academic achievements and experience but also differences in the complexity of the teaching responsibility?						66
22.	Do you receive and accept guidance from your community in your work as a teacher?						67

		VL	S	QB	GD	VGD	
23.	Do you see your profession's code of professional ethics as binding on you?						69
24.	Are you keeping yourself informed about current trends and practices in your field of teaching?						70
25.	Are you and your colleagues able to seek promotion to positions of instructional responsibility (as opposed to administrative responsibility) that offer better pay and greater status?						70
26.	Do you accept responsibility for the learning environment in which your students function?						71
27.	Do you regulate your conduct as a teacher in terms of a written code of professional standards?						72
28.	Do you or other teachers have a voice in approving teacher education programs?						73
29.	Are sabbatical leaves with nearly full salary available to teachers you know?						74
30.	Have you participated in efforts to enforce professional standards of behavior among teachers?						75

Section 4: Negotiating Strategies Opinionnaire

Instructions: In this section we would like you to provide some information regarding various strategies that are used by teachers to achieve their goals in contract negotiations.

A number of negotiating strategies are described below. By placing a check mark (✓) in the appropriate space, please indicate your personal attitude toward each strategy, regardless of whether it has been used locally.

The response scale for indicating your personal viewpoint is:

Strongly support	SS
Support	S
Undecided	?
Disapprove	D
Strongly disapprove	SD

Survey:

	Personal attitude				
	SS	S	?	D	SD
1. Invite board members to general meetings of teachers so that salary and working conditions may be discussed.					
2. Initiate action that is aimed at unseating influential elected officials -- board, municipal and province/state -- who oppose teachers' negotiation objectives.					
3. Use a professional mediator (neutral third party) to bring the two sides to a voluntary agreement.					
4. Restrict the availability of teachers to a board -- e.g., withdraw voluntary services, work to rule, various forms of blacklisting.					
5. Present briefs to the school board to outline the rationale for teachers' negotiation objectives.					
6. Temporarily deprive the school system of its instructional personnel -- use 'study sessions' and similar tactics.					
7. Teachers' representatives attend and address school board meetings.					

	SS	S	?	D	SD
8. Impede the work of school board administrators -- organize a telephone and/or mail blitz, for example.					
9. Conduct publicity campaigns to promote teachers' negotiation objectives among the public -- through the mass media, public meetings, demonstrations, etc.					
10. Deprive or threaten to deprive the school system of its instructional personnel -- submit mass resignations.					
11. Deprive or threaten to deprive the school system of its instructional personnel by means of a strike.					
12. Teachers' representatives lobby individual members of the school board's negotiating team outside formal negotiating sessions.					
13. Throughout the formal negotiating stage adamantly maintain demands made at the beginning and wait for a settlement to be imposed -- binding arbitration.					

Other strategies?

Comments:

Thank you.

PLEASE PUT THE COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE IN THE MAIL PROMPTLY

Matching Ideals and Achievements

Dimension of Professionalism	Item on questionnaire: Section 2	Section 3
1. Professional autonomy, group and individual	3	8
	5	28
	8	10
	11	27
	16	3
	20	23
	21	4
	23	7
	24	17
	27	11
2. Public service commitment	1	22
	29	5
	9	13
	13	19
3. Responsibility for what is taught	6	20
	15	16
	17	18
	26	9
	28	26
4. Responsibility for competency among membership	2	14
	10	2
	12	24
	19	15
	22	30
5. Individual recognition of members	4	21
	7	25
	14	29
	18	1
	25	12
	30	6

APPENDIX C

THE MECHANICS OF THE SURVEY

Mailing envelope and contents:

Envelope: Queen's University, white, No. 10 business

Contents:
1. Questionnaire, 10 pages
2. Message from teacher association official commending study, 1 page
3. Message from researcher identifying self and purpose of study, 1 page
4. Self addressed and stamped envelope

Weight: 2 ounces

Postage: First class, Canada - .14¢ both ways
U.S.A. - .20¢ return

RECOMMENDATION:
1. Print questionnaire on both sides of paper as one way to keep weight below one ounce.
2. Use plain white envelopes to avoid appearance of institutional mail.
3. Use special issue stamps on return envelopes, if possible.
4. Use home addresses, if possible.

Follow-up procedure:

Original mailing: January 6-14, 1975, early in new school term.

Reminder notice: Each questionnaire was code numbered on the back against the mailing list for the purpose of identifying recipients of follow-up card. Two teacher organizations (FWTAO and NYSUT) kept the mailing list in their offices and received from the researcher a list of numbers of missing responses. The other three turned over the mailing list to the researcher. Any teachers who had not responded by February 10 (43% of the total) were sent a card with a one sentence reminder printed on it. The Canadian postal system faltered badly (labour trouble) during late February. Any further follow-up became impractical.

Percentage return: By March 4, the overall response rate had reached 66%. (NYSUT - 68.5%; PAPT - 62%; OECTA - 69.2%; OPSMTF - 69%; FWTAO - 65.5%). That became the cut-off date for responses that were processed. After screening incomplete responses, 65% were actually processed.

RECOMMENDATION: Tell respondents that the instrument is code numbered solely for the purpose of identifying addresses of missing responses at a later date. The lack of explanation caused a few teachers to suspect an interest in personal identities. Apparently, the response rate was not significantly affected by this.

Areas of relatively poor response:

For the teachers in the three groups for which the researcher had address lists in his possession, it was possible to identify geographical areas where the response rate was well below the norm (a response rate of 50% or less). They are as follows:

PAPT -- the elementary teachers of Greater Montreal

OECTA -- North Bay, north of Sudbury, Renfrew County, Oshawa.
A possible explanation: none of these places receive student teachers from Queen's.

OPSMTF -- Ottawa and North Bay.
The same explanation may be pertinent.

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